

Message Text

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12

ACTION EA-14

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NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAJ-01 NIC-01 EUR-25 DRC-01 /120 W

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R 170505Z DEC 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9010

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJ: SHANGHAI LEFT CRIES PERSECUTION

REF: HONG KONG 12578

SUMMARY. AN ARTICLE IN THE NEW SHANGHAI JOURNAL STRONGLY IMPLIES THAT THE RADICAL LEFT FEELS PERSECUTED IN THE CURRENT PRC POLITICAL SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

1. THE NOVEMBER ISSUE OF THE SHANGHAI JOURNAL STUDY AND CRITICISM INTRODUCES ANOTHER HISTORICAL ALLEGORY WHICH PRESUMABLY LIKE THE ANTI-CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN HAS RELEVANCE TO THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE PRC. AN ARTICLE IN THE ISSUE HOLDS UP ROBESPIERRE AS THE MAIN EXAMPLE FOR STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE JACOBIN MOVEMENT. DANTON IS POSITED AS THE LEADER OF A RIGHT WING WHICH EMERGED AFTER THE MOVEMENT'S INITIAL REVOLUTIONARY SUCCESS. WHILE HE HAD EARLIER CALLED FOR "RADICAL CHANGE," DANTON PROFITED PERSONALLY FROM THE REVOLUTION AND SWITCHED INTO

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OPPOSITION TO RADICALISM OUT OF SELF-INTEREST. HE CRITICIZED

REVOLUTIONARY "EXCESSES," AND WANTED TO PROCLAIM A GENERAL AMNESTY FOR COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES ALREADY IMPRISONED AND TO COMPROMISE WITH THE FEUDAL FORCES. DANTON ATTACKED THE LEFT WING OF THE JACOBINS.

2. THE ROBESPIERRE FACTION, WHICH "HELD ACTUAL POWER AMONG THE JACOBINS," SENT DANTON TO THE GUILLOTINE. BUT ROBESPIERRE ALSO THOUGHT THE LEFT WING FACTION IN THE JACOBIN MOVEMENT EVEN MORE DANGEROUS, AND HE STERNLY SUPPRESSED THEM AS VIOLATORS OF THE BOURGEOIS ORDER. "RAISING HIS LEFT HAND TO STRIKE DOWN THE RIGHT WING... AND THEN RAISING HIS RIGHT HAND TO STRIKE DOWN THE LEFT WING..THIS WAS A VIVID PORTRAIT OF WHAT ROBESPIERRE WAS DOING AT A TIME WHEN THE REVOLUTION WAS GOING DEEPER." THE STRIKING DOWN OF THE LEFT DOOMED THE JACOBINS BECAUSE IT DESTROYED THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE MASSES. ROBESPIERRE WAS SENT TO THE GUILLOTINE BY THE BOURGEOISIE UPON WHOM HE HAD RELIED.

3. THE FINAL PARAGRAPH OF THE ARTICLE DRAWS THE FOLLOWING CONNECTION TO THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA'S POLITICS: BEGIN QUOTE. WHEN A NEW REVOLUTIONARY CLASS RISES TO OVERTHROW ANOTHER OLD CONSERVATIVE CLASS, IT IS NECESSARY TO EXERCISE REVOLUTIONARY DICTATORSHIP. IF ANYONE WANTS TO CURSE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS DURING THE PERIOD OF SOCIAL CHANGES OR IN THE COURSE OF GREAT CHANGES IN CLASS RELATIONS AS "EXCESSIVE ACTIONS" OR "AUTOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP," THAT COULD MOST PROBABLY MEAN THAT HE HAS BETRAYED THE REVOLUTION, PUSHING BACK THE WHEELS OF HISTORY CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT WHIPPING UP PUBLIC OPINION TO PREPARE FOR THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY RESTORATION. THIS IS A HISTORICAL LESSON WHICH IS WORTHY OF OUR ATTENTION. END QUOTE.

4. THE ARTICLE IS ONE OF THE CLEAREST WE HAVE SEEN IN CONVEYING THE IMPLICATION THAT THE RADICAL LEFT IN THE PRC FEELS PERSECUTED AND IS CRYING ALARM THAT THE CHINESE REVOLUTION ITSELF IS THREATENED. THE ARTICLE PRECEDED DECEMBER'S RED FLAG, WHICH, APPARENTLY SPEAKING FOR THE DOMINANT MODERATE LEADERSHIP, HAS WARNED THAT JACOBIN VIOLENCE IS OUT OF PLACE WHEN IT IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE "PEOPLE" (REFTEL).

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